1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Explanation by the Ku'ruhus

539*
796*

The words of the first stanza tell us that Kawas is now hovering overhead in the lodge.

The eagle soars in the skies and can communicate with the powers that are above; so the eagle represents these powers. As we stand facing the east the white-eagle feathered stem, on the right, toward the south, represents brightness, the light, the day, the sun, and it is the male. It is for defense and is carried on the side farthest from the people. The brown-eagle feathered stem, Kawas, is to the left, toward the north; it represents darkness, the night, the moon, and is the female. Kawas is carried nearest the people. Kawas has the right to make the nest and to seek help from Tira'wa for the Children.

825

Kawas leads in this ceremony, which is to ask for the gift of children, not only that children may be born to us, but that the tie of parent and child may be established between us and those to whom we are bringing these sacred objects, that peace may be between the tribes, and plenty and long life and prosperity. So we sing that Kawas is hovering in the lodge as an eagle hovers over her nest.

842

This stanza is sung slowly, for the eagle as it hovers is slow in its movements.

Translation of Second Stanza

413 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

414 Kawas tewi kire hera ti rao.

Kawas, the brown eagle, representing the beneficent powers.
tewi, hovering, moving with a slow, circling movement.
kire, starting to fly.
hera, my.
ti, possessive pronoun.
rao, part of the word pirao, child.

415, 416 See line 414.

Explanation by the Ku'ruhus

796*

We sing the second stanza faster, for now Kawas has stretched her mighty wings and is flying within the lodge, driving away all harmful influences and making the place ready for all the good that is promised to us through this ceremony.

When, on the fourth circuit, the west is reached, we pause and face the east, but we continue to sing until we have repeated this second stanza four times.

As soon as we have reached the west the two doctors with the eagle wings move away, the one with the left wing going by the north and the one with the right wing going toward the south. They raise and lower the wings to simulate the eagle cleaning its nest, flapping and blowing out all impurities. When the doctors meet at the east they

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

In the first stanza we call upon the woodpecker, who is busy making a noise, tapping upon the trees in the thick woods, and we ask him to remind his father of the promise that the storm should not come near his nest. 539* 796* 821

The woodpecker is with us on the stem, and the storm is now threatening our nest, the lodge where we are holding the ceremony, so we call on him, the woodpecker, and ask him to remind his father of the promise given. 782

The second stanza tells us that the four beings at the west speak, for when the thunders sound they all speak. These now answer the woodpecker, who has reminded them of their promise when Tira'wa atius, the father of all things, placed the bird and its nest under their protection.

If, after we have sung these stanzas, the clouds part, we know that our prayers have been heard. We all return to the lodge, and the wildcat skin is spread upon the holy place at the west, the crotched stick is put in position, the eagle stems and all the other articles are laid at ceremonial rest. When this has been done the chief takes the sacred pipe and, accompanied by the priest of the shrine containing the objects sacred to the powers of the rain, goes out and makes an offering of smoke. The priest directs the chief where to point the pipe-stem. By this act of offering smoke we give thanks to the powers, who have heard our prayers and averted the storm.

PRAYER FOR THE GIFT OF CHILDREN

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

This ceremony is very old and has now become obsolete. It is a prayer for the power of procreation. It was never performed except at the request of the Son, and was only in the interest of a man to whom children had not been born. It took place either in the early morning or at night, never during the day. 796* [782] 842

When the request for the ceremony had been made, the Ku'rahus selected a man from among the Fathers whose duty it became to carry the Son and to care for him as a father would care for a little child.

A white buffalo robe was kept for this particular ceremony. After the Son had been lifted on the back of the Father, this white robe was thrown over the two and was held together in front by the Father, as a person would hold his robe if he were carrying a child on his back. As the Father, carrying the Son, moved toward the entrance of the lodge, he was followed by the Ku'rahus and his assistant bearing the feathered stems and the chief with the cat skin and the ear of corn, while the following song was sung.

The words are: "Behold! Your father is walking with his child!" [539*]

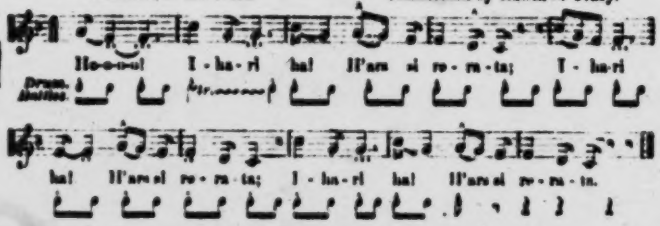
1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

FIRST SONG

*539
*796
● 842
[533]

Words and Music

M. M. ♩= 84.
• — Pulsation of the voice. Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.



1332 Ho-o-o-o!
1333 Iha'ri ha! H'ars si rerata;
1334 Iha'ri ha! H'ars si rerata;
1335 Iha'ri ha! H'ars si rerata.

Translation

1332 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
1333 Iha'ri ha! H'ars si rerata.
Iha'ri, a term for offspring or young; refers here to the Son.
ha! behold!
h', an abbreviation of ha, your.
ars, an abbreviation of atius, father.
si, refers to Iha'ri, in this instance the Son.
rerata, walking with.
1334, 1335 See line 1333.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

When the Father, with the Son on his back, and the Ku'rahus and his associates had reached the open air and had gone a little distance from the lodge, the Son was taken from the back of the Father. All were now standing under the sky where they could be seen by the powers. The Son represented a little helpless child—the child that he desired the powers to give to him.

As the following song was sung the Father undressed the Son as he would a little child, and while he did so the Son prayed for the gift of children.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

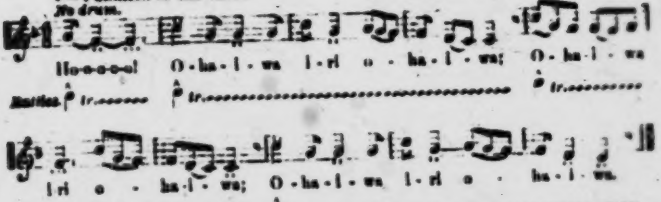
SECOND SONG

Words and Music

539*
796*
842
[538]

M. M. ♩= 88.
• = Pulsation of the voice.
No drum.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.



I	II
1336 Ho-o-o-o-o!	1340 Ho-o-o-o-o!
1337 Ohaiwa iri ohaiwa;	1341 Okariwa iri okariwa;
1338 Ohaiwa iri ohaiwa;	1342 Okariwa iri okariwa;
1339 Ohaiwa iri ohaiwa.	1343 Okariwa iri okariwa

Translation

I

1336 Ho-o-o-o-o! An exclamation introductory to the song.

1337 Ohaiwa iri ohaiwa.

ohaiwa, a composite word; the o is taken from okiwanun, foam; hai is from haiwa, floating; wa is a part of nawa, now.

iri, an expression of thankfulness.

ohaiwa, translated above.

1338, 1339 See line 1337.

II

1340 Ho-o-o-o-o! An exclamation introductory to the song.

1341 Okariwa iri okariwa.

okariwa, a composite word; oka, breechcloth; kari, male organ (the syllable ka is common to the first and second word); wa, from rakura, to take off.

iri, an expression of thankfulness.

okariwa, translated above.

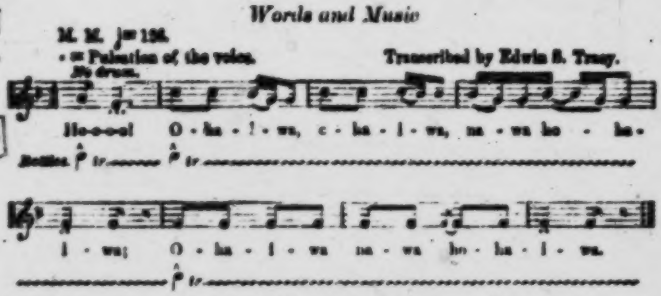
1342, 1343 See line 1341.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

THIRD SONG

Words and Music

*539
*796
842
[*533]



I		II	
1344	Ho-o-o-o!	1347	Ho-o-o-o!
1345	Ohaiwa, ohaiwa, nawa hohaiwa;	1348	Okariwa iri okariwa okariwa;
1346	Ohaiwa nawa hohaiwa.	1349	Okariwa iri okariwa.

Translation

I

1344 Ho-o-o-o! An exclamation introductory to the song.
1345 Ohaiwa, ohaiwa, nawa hohaiwa.
ohaiwa, floating foam. See line 1337.
nawa, now.
hohaiwa, to urinate.
1346 Ohaiwa nawa hohaiwa. See line 1345.

II

1347 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation
1348 Okariwa iri okariwa okariwa.
okariwa, a composite word, translated in line 1341.
iri, an expression of thankfulness.
okariwa. See line 1341.
1349 Okariwa iri okariwa. See line 1341.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

During the singing of the first stanza (third song) the Son obeyed, as a child would do, the directions given him by the Father.

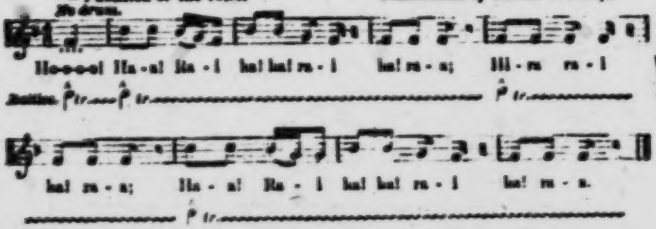
As the second stanza was sung the Father reclothed the Son as he would a little child. The Son was then taken again on the back of the Father to be carried to the lodge.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

FOURTH SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♪=132.
• = Pulsation of the voice. Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.
No drum.



I

1350 Ho-o-o-o!
1351 Ha-a! Rai ha! ha! rai ha! ra-a;
1352 Hira rai ha! ra-a;
1353 Ha-a! Rai ha! ha! rai ha! ra-a.

II

1354 Ho-o-o-o!
1355 Ho-okai ha! hokai ha. ka-a;
1356 Werawane ha! ka-a;
1357 Ho-okai ha! hokai ha! ka-a.

Translation

I

1350 Ho-o-o-o! An exclamation introductory to the song.
1351 Ha-a! Rai ha! ha! rai ha! ra-a.
ha-a! ha! behold! a, a vowel prolongation to carry the voice.
rai, coming.
ha! ha! behold!
rai, coming.
ha! behold!
ra-a; ra, a part of the word rai, coming; a, vowel prolongation.
1352 Hira rai ha! ra-a;
hira, he coming.
rai, coming.
ha! behold!
ra-a, a part of the word meaning coming.
1353 See line 1351.

II

1354 Ho-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
1355 Ho-okai ha! hokai ha! ka-a.
ho-okai; hokai, to enter; the vowel o is prolonged to carry the voice while singing.
ha! behold!
hokai, to enter, or entering.
ha! behold!
ka-a, a part of the word hokai, entering.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*539 1356 Werawane ha! ka-a.
werawane, spreading out the arms.
*796 ha! behold!
ka-a, part of the word hokal, entering.
●842 1357 See line 1355.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

As the Father and the Son, wrapped in the white robe, turned toward the lodge, the Ku'rahus and his associates followed, and as they walked they sang the first stanza.

The words are, "Behold! He is coming! The Son is coming!"

At the door of the lodge they sang (second stanza), "Behold! He is entering!" With the word "werawane," the Father spread out his arms, loosening the white robe, but still holding it by the edges, while the Son slipped to the ground and returned to his place in the lodge, the place he had left at the beginning of the ceremony.

CHANGING A MAN'S NAME

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*539 If any man of the Son's party had achieved success in war, and his
*796 achievements had been acknowledged by the people, he could request the Son to have the ceremony of changing his name performed.

553 This act could take place in the afternoon of the fourth day. The Son would make the request known to the Father, the chief, who passed it on to the Ku'rahus.

If the Hako ceremony was held in an earth lodge, the Ku'rahus, accompanied by the Father and the Son, went outside and ascended the roof; there, standing before the people gathered below, the Ku'rahus recited in a loud voice the ritual used when changing a man's name.

If the Hako ceremony had been held in a tent, a semicircular inclosure was made with saplings and there, under the open sky, in the presence of all the people, the ritual was given and the name was changed.

Pawnee Text

1358 Hiri! Waku raruta sharu witi rarawa-a kiru sharu reru ki tawi rahwi'-rahriso tira kahho ri wiri.

1359 Hiri! Raru ki tawi rahwi rahriso rao ti shira rutu rahwitz pari usa'ru i re.

1360 Hiri! Ra ru ki tawi rahwi rahriso rao ti shire ra ki tawa usa'ru.

1361 Hiri! Riru tziraru; rasa rûzsa pakara ra witz pari; hiri! ti'ruta; hiri! ti rakûse tararawa hut; tiri.

1362 Hiri! Riru tziraru; rasa rûzsa pakara ra witz pari; hiri! ti'ruta; hiri! Tira wa, ha! tiri.

1363 Hiri! Riru tziraru; sira waku ri kata iwa hut; hiri! ti'ruta; hiri! ti'ra ûse tirarawa hut, tiri.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

The leadership accorded to the corn indicates that an earlier form of the ceremony is to be sought among a people dependent upon agriculture, and the peculiar treatment of water would seem to have arisen in a semi-arid region. Again, the development in the purpose of the ceremony from the simple longing for offspring to the larger desire of establishing intertribal relationships was most likely to have taken place among peoples whose settled mode of life had fostered an appreciation of the benefits to be derived from peace and security.

Efforts to spread this ceremony among tribes less sedentary than those of the Mexican plateau and the Southwest may, on the one hand, have been prompted by prudential reasons, while on the other hand its adoption and promulgation over the wide territory occupied by the so-called hunting tribes marks the growth of political ideas and gives a higher place to these tribes in the line of social development than has usually been accorded them.

PURPOSE OF THE CEREMONY

The purpose of this ceremony was twofold: first, to benefit certain individuals by bringing to them the promise of children, long life, and plenty; second, to affect the social relations of those who took part in it, by establishing a bond between two distinct groups of persons, belonging to different clans, gentes, or tribes, which was to insure between them friendship and peace.

In every tribe where the ceremony was known this twofold purpose was recognized, and by no tribal variation in the details of the rite was it lost sight of or obscured.

From a study of this ceremony it seems probable that its original instigation was a desire for offspring, that the clan or kinship group might increase in number and strength and be perpetuated through the continuous birth of children.

The ceremonial forms here used to express this desire were undoubtedly borrowed from earlier ceremonies through which the people had been familiarized with certain symbols and rites representing the creative powers. Thus, the male and female cosmic forces, symbolized in greater or less detail by day and night, sun and moon, the heavens and the earth, are found in the Hako ceremony.

The eagle and the ear of corn also represent in general the male and female forces, but each is specialized in a manner peculiar to these rites. There are two eagles; the white, representing the male, the father, the defender; and the brown, representing the female, the mother, the nestmaker (see pages 288, 289). In the treatment of these eagles the dual forces are still further represented. The feathers of the white or male eagle are hung upon a stem painted green to symbolize the earth, the female principle; while those of the brown or female eagle are hung upon the stem painted blue to symbolize the heavens, the

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

The unit of time is an eighth note, represented by a short dash, –; a quarter note is represented by a longer dash, two beats, —: a three-eighths note by a still longer dash, three beats, , and so on. The dots indicate the number of voice pulsations given to a tone while it is held. Where there is emphasis it is marked on the diagram by the accent sign '. 796* 533*

A rhythmic rendition, which aims not only to convey the literal meaning but to embody the elucidations of the Ku'rahus as well, has been made. Its words have been so chosen that the lines shall conform to the rhythm of the corresponding phrases of the songs. This rendition is for the purpose of presenting to the eye and the ear of the English reader the song as it appeals to the Pawnee who has been instructed in the rite. [128]

The variety of rhythmic forms in the songs of the rituals offers interesting material for the study of the relation of the musical phrase to the development of metrical language. The movements which accompany each song and act of the ceremony give further testimony to the fundamental character of rhythm.

In the following analysis the scheme of the ceremony will be closely observed.

THE PREPARATION

First Division. Initial Rites

First Ritual. Making the Hako

Part I. Invoking the Powers

The ceremony of the Hako, we are told by the Ku'rahus, is a prayer for offspring. It opens with a song which recalls the creation of man, the gifts bestowed on him by Tira'wa atius through the powers, and the establishment of rites by which he can appeal to the powers. The content of the song prefigures the fulfillment of man's desire for the reproduction of his life, and the orderly approach by which he should make his desire known. Such a prefiguring seems to be essential at the opening of a ceremony to give it a supernatural warrant. 796* 842● 539* 782

The preparation of the Hako constitutes the opening ritual, the first song of which is an appeal to the lesser powers in the order of their coming near to man from the holy place, Awahokshu (first song, line 4). They are said to descend by the four paths at the four cardinal points (line 5), and the ceremonial motions indicating these quarters are an indirect way of mentioning the powers. Each stanza of the appeal, falling into four musical phrases, suggests this four-fold symbol. 782 796* 539* [533*]

The appeal is in the form of a litany, each stanza beginning with a call to "give heed," and closing with the response that heed has been given. The climax in both words and music is reached in the third phrase, which is a direct invocation of one of the powers. [533*]

5: Dorsey & Murie E, I-5 (1903-1907) 1940
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

847 women. Occasionally an unmarried woman, to conceal the evidence of her pregnancy, would attempt to induce abortion by pressure upon her abdomen.

302 842 831 753 Both sexes plucked the hair from about the genitalia; this hair was always tied up and buried. It was considered unclean and could not be burned, for it would thereby be offered to the deities. Should any of the hair be burned, the offender on having connection would become ill, sores would break out, and death might ensue. Barren women were supposed to have broken this taboo.

NAMES

553 During his lifetime, a Pawnee probably bore four or five names, if not more. Shortly after its birth, a child was given a name by the midwife. This was determined by some physical feature of the baby or by some trait which its actions might suggest. The name was retained for a number of months or possibly even several years. [720 788] As a rule the return of the father from a victorious war party with scalps to offer as a sacrifice was made the occasion for bestowing on the child a new name, which was given in the most formal manner. This second name was usually kept until after marriage, though if the parents believed it to be unlucky or if the boy or girl did some meritorious deed, a third name could be given. Then shortly after marriage, an individual was given another name by the father. This name could be retained indefinitely, or could also be changed after the performance of a deed of valor or bravery, or because a relative wished to transmit a name which had already proved desirable.

There were still other occasions on which names were changed. Often a man on the warpath took a new name, believing that it would contribute to the success of the expedition. In addition, the following two accounts are presented for the light they throw on the formation of new names.

726 553 159 538 "When I was a young man, before I had gone on the warpath, our village at Fremont was attacked by the Sioux. The four bands of Pawnee were at this time together at Fremont. I took the best horse we had and went into the battle. In the battle one man between the two lines was shot. I rode up, and as I jumped off my pony I was hit right under my bladder. The man jumped upon my pony and rode away while I was left on the ground to die. After the battle my people picked me up and carried me home. When I came to I found that I was in my lodge lying on a robe and the Buffalo Medicine-men were waiting on me. I closed my eyes

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

5.79 James R. Murie, 1914, pp. 550-551, lists the names of thirteen villages, each of which he states had a sacred bundle, excepting the thirteenth, *Turawiu*, which was part of a village. The village names are:

1) *Turikaku* (Center Village), Evening Star bundle
2) *Kitkehazpakuxtu* (Old Village), the four semicardinal direction bundles
3) *Tuhitspiat* (Stretching-Out-in-the-Bottomlands)
4) *Tukitskita* (Village-on-Branch-of-a-River)
5) *Tuwahukasa* (Village-Stretching-across-a-Hill), the Morning Star bundle (This bundle was divided into two.)
6) *Arikararikutsu* (Big-Antlered-Elk-Standing)
7) *Arikarariki* (Small-Antlered-Elk-Standing)
8) *Tuhutsaku* (Village-in-a-Ravine), the left-hand bundle (All use left hands in the ceremony.)
9) *Tuwarakaku* (Village-in-Thick-Timber)
10) *Akapaxtsawa* (Buffalo-Skull-Painted-on-Tipi), Black Star bundle
11) *Tskisarikus* (Fish-Hawk) (Bundle buried with White Hawk.)
12) *Tstiks-kaatit* (Black-Ear-of-Corn), meaning corn-black
13) *Turawiu*, part of a village.

These were the known member villages of the Skidi political federation. According to tradition, two villages did not join—Pahukstatu (Pumpkin-Vine) and Tskirirara (Wolf-Standing-in-Water). These two villages survived into the time of our narrative together with only two of the other thirteen, numbers 3 and 5, Tuhitspiat and Tuwahukasa. Tu- is the prefix signifying village or settlement; eight of Murie's thirteen are village names, seven of them beginning with this prefix and indicating a location, the eighth, number 2, meaning Old-Earth-Lodge Village. Four are animal names, and one, a corn name.

5 In the article by Levy and Fallers, 1959, the authors comment on departures from our working model of the "nuclear" or "biological" family, questioning whether it is in fact as basic as we assume. I suggest that our working model of family life stems from the Adam and Eve story and that of the Pawnee from their interpretation of the cosmos and the nature of human life which derives from it. This fundamental difference in our viewpoints does not depend on an ignorance on the part of the Pawnees of the basic fact of physiological paternity. They believed that conception took place as a result of the combination of a male and a female substance similar to egg white in consistency—red in the case of the female and white in that of the male.

52 The "worm" love song adapted from Dunbar, 1881, p. 745